

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 124 094

HE 007 980

AUTHOR Blackwell, James E.
TITLE Black Colleges as a National Resource: Beyond 1975. A Conference Report.
INSTITUTION Southern Education Foundation, Atlanta, Ga.
PUB DATE 76
NOTE 38p.
EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.83 HC-\$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Conference Reports; Conferences; Educational History; *Educational Objectives; Educational Problems; *Futures (of Society); *Higher Education; *Institutional Role; *Negro Colleges; Political Issues; Private Colleges; Public Schools

ABSTRACT

A conference of primarily black college presidents and of heads of foundations and agencies, which are devoted to the strengthening of black colleges and higher education for blacks, focused on the role of black colleges beyond 1975, discussing critical issues confronted by black colleges, including legal, economic, education, leadership, and political. In this summary report of the conference content, private and public black colleges are examined separately followed by a statement of consensus that developed around the following priorities for black colleges as a national resource: (1) training of black and non-black students; (2) strengthening the black community; (3) sharing resources and common goals with Third World Nations; (4) development of major centers of research and development affecting the quality of life; (5) fostering pluralism; (6) meeting the challenge of new, untapped manpower needs in academic and professional spheres and in public/social policy; (7) education of poor and disadvantaged; (8) producing models of black leadership; (9) functioning as purveyors of black cultural heritage; and (10) training to meet critical manpower needs, e.g., in international diplomacy and law, health professions, and community conversation. Some recommendations are included for implementing the above priorities. The report includes summary discussion on What is a black college? Why were they founded? What did they do? and characteristics and clientele. (JT)

* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *

ED124094

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

BLACK COLLEGES AS A NATIONAL RESOURCE: BEYOND 1975

*A Conference Report
by
James E. Blackwell*

Sponsored by
The Southern Education Foundation
Atlanta, Georgia
February 15-17, 1976

HE007980

One of a series of reports on activities sponsored
by the Southern Education Foundation's Higher
Education Program

Southern Education Foundation
811 Cypress St., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

".....Black colleges are a national resource. They have played and they continue to play an important role in providing institutional leadership and significant human resources for domestic and world societies."

Vivian Henderson

In memory of
Dr. Vivian Henderson, President
of
Clark College

A chief Architect and Convenor of
this Conference and an important
figure in the education of black
people, who died January 28, 1976.

The Southern Education Foundation in Atlanta has been concerned with the educational needs of the American black population for more than a century. It has both anticipated issues and major concerns and responded to many of them in pragmatic ways. Explicit responses to issues of historical and contemporary significance have taken the form of research and development, demonstration projects, workshops, conferences, and information dissemination through various publications.

During the past three years, the Southern Education Foundation has either sponsored or co-sponsored conferences devoted to issues central to the process of dismantling the dual system of higher education and on equality of access in postsecondary education. This conference on Black Colleges As A National Resource: Beyond 1975 is consistent with the Foundation's continuing commitment to facilitate the achievement of equality of opportunity in education for American citizens.

Conference Background

One of the manifest consequences of the 1954 Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka was the debate it subsequently engendered on the role of predominantly black colleges in a desegregating society. The polemics about black colleges have taken a variety of forms in the past, and are currently devoted to a number of highly complex issues. The most compelling issue in recent years pertains to the continued survival of the historically and predominantly black colleges and universities. Survival has been justified in terms of the significant roles, functions and services performed by these institutions for more than a century. Survival has also been argued in terms of the overall quality of these services despite the perniciousness of white supremacy, educational apartheid, and systemic discrimination against black Americans within the educational community.

Proponents of this viewpoint also argue that the recognized achievements of black colleges in meeting the educational needs of black youth and of the black community were made against the overwhelming odds of racist policies at local, state and national levels. Other persons committed to the survival of black colleges do not deny the validity of assertions about past achievements of black colleges. Neither are they content with resting on such accomplishments as a sufficient argument for the continuation of any institution in a desegregating society. These individuals are prone to point to the current retrenchment and inequality in the distribution of resources for higher education at both public and private levels, and to assert these conditions as essential elements in decisions about the future. In this view, the survival of any institution must be based upon its capacity to respond in the most significant manner to educational needs of an increasingly diverse clientele and to deliver educational services to

an ever-expanding community of consumers. Thus, the past becomes the foundation of the present and, in turn, enables institutions to benefit from historical experiences in preparation for future roles in the educational enterprise. It is imperative, therefore, to move beyond that important past toward more effective planning and programmatic diversification in the utilization of resources available for higher education.

Although a dichotomization of perspectives about black colleges of this sort may appear to be somewhat simplistic and primitive, its salience lies in its capacity to frame some of the fundamental issues and concerns of Presidents, and administrators of black colleges and those leaders in the private sector whose commitment is toward improving the overall quality of social institutions within the black community. Heretofore, it has been all but impossible to convene a sizeable group of black leaders in the educational community in one place for a substantial period of time to debate and discuss in any rational way the merits and problems of such a dichotomization of perspectives. This delay in organizing such a conference for selected members of the leadership structure among black educators was due in part to scheduling conflicts, administrative pressures and demands within various home communities, and the initiative by someone to organize such a Conference.

The idea of such a conference of primarily black college Presidents and of heads of foundations and agencies devoted to the strengthening of black colleges and higher education for blacks, in general, grew out of informal discussions several years ago between the late Dr. Vivian Henderson, President of Clark College and Dr. Granville Sawyer, President of Texas Southern University. At a meeting held at Johnson C. Smith University, these two Presidents agreed that someone should provide a forum in which all presidents of black colleges, if possible, or selected ones of them from both public

and private institutions could chart a course for the future of the historically and predominantly black colleges in the United States. They agreed with President Henderson's observation that the "social and racial context within which black colleges were founded and nurtured is of a passing order... even though remnants of that order still remain." Therefore, the time had come when primary attention should be addressed to the issue of determining the future roles of black colleges in a racially integrated society.

Following informal and formal discussions with leaders of the Southern Education Foundation about a plan for organizing such a meeting, the SEF agreed to be its sponsor. It was further agreed that the major convenors of the Conference were to be Presidents Henderson and Sawyer. The primary invitees would be selected College Presidents since it was not possible for all to participate, heads of Foundations, representatives of selected agencies devoted to education and a few academicians whose research had contributed to our understanding of the structure and functions of black colleges.

During the pre-Conference planning period, a decision was reached that, although its primary focus would be on the role of black colleges beyond 1975, a frank discussion of critical issues confronted by black colleges would provide the essential framework for discussion and debate by conference participants. Analyses of the issues identified could potentially lead participants to engage in self-appraisal in terms of internal strengths of both an intellectual and experiential character. This type of candid introspection could also foster, it was argued, a recognition of those issues internal to the black community which also determine educational problems in a meaningful and systematic manner. Thus, self-appraisal was perceived to be a prerequisite for any form of "case-making" to an external audience. Stated differently, self-appraisal, which permits black colleges to understand

their strengths as well as their weaknesses, is essential for understanding the resources offered now and in the future by black colleges. It precedes an effective comprehension of the power equation between black colleges as a national resource. Related to this major concern was the desire to use a working conference as a means of constructing an agenda for American blacks to re-gain control of the future as Americans through the instrumentalities of black colleges functioning within an ever changing world community. In this process, the urgency of appreciating the magnitude of black colleges as a national resource could be articulated.

During the pre-conference planning period, several decisions were made which affected the structure and modus operandi of the conference. The most essential ones were that: (1) selected individuals would be requested to author and work together in developing papers dealing with basic issues, private colleges, public colleges, and the relationship of black colleges to their respective communities, (2) the issues paper would be authored by Vivian Henderson with the assistance of Dr. Elias Blake, President of the Institute for Services to Education; (3) responsibility for the paper on private colleges would be assumed by President Luther Foster of Tuskegee Institute and Dr. Wiley Bolden of Georgia State University (on loan to University Associates of Washington, D.C.); (4) the development of the paper on black public colleges would be the responsibility of President Albert N. Whiting of North Carolina Central University with the assistance of Kenneth Tollett, Distinguished Professor of Higher Education and Director of the Institute for the Study of Educational Policy at Howard University; (5) the paper on black colleges and the community would be prepared by President Sawyer with the assistance of Dr. Hortense Dixon and Dr. Clifton Clave of Texas Southern University; (6) Dr. Albert Berrian, Vice President of the Institute for Services to Education, and Dr. James E. Blackwell,

Professor of Sociology at the University of Massachusetts/Boston would serve as Conference Rapporteurs with responsibility for synthesis, re-formulation and presentation of recommendations, and (7) all four papers would be disseminated to all invitees in sufficient time for them to read and react to them prior to the actual convening of the Conference on February 15-17, 1976.

Context of the Conference

The Conference on BLACK COLLEGES AS A NATIONAL RESOURCE: BEYOND 1975 was convened in Atlanta, Georgia on February 15-17, 1976. Some of the issues raised during the two day sessions transcended the racial composition of institutions of higher education. Among such concerns were those addressed to what Freeman Butts called "The Search for Purpose in American Education" (College Board Review, 98: Winter, 1975-76). This search for purpose among black colleges is occurring at a moment in the history of American higher education when forces both internal and external to the educational community are forging a re-examination of institutional missions, a re-assessment of the type of student body desired, a re-definition of priorities and a development of different procedures or methods for attaining the fundamental educational goals of the institution.

The context within which the conference occurred is, therefore, considerably broader than issues peculiar to the interest of black educational institutions. It is a context which encompasses functions within American higher education, in general, as it confronts the changing dimensions of economic, political, social and demographic realities. It is a context within which the actors recognize the multiple realities under which the educational enterprise operates. Some realities have greater and more immediate salience for black colleges because of the unique aspects of their history, growth and development while others have an even more profound impact

on their internal condition even though they are external to an immediate institutional community.

What is a Black College?

Mandates for desegregation of institutions of higher education in the United States have fostered a re-appraisal of the meaning of black colleges. Some theoreticians who support symbolic interactionism argue that definitions are critical for understanding an object because they give meaning to that object and help to explain how people are expected to react to that object. Hence, the meaning of an object lies not in the object itself but in the definitions brought to that object. These meanings may sharpen our perceptions, bias our interpretations, often determine how people relate to them, as well as of expectations of them, and tell us whether or not we will label black colleges as collectively strong or academically inferior institutions. These meanings are importantly shaped by the nature and content of social learning. They grow out of what is imparted about black colleges, through the media, supporters, hostile and unfriendly detractors and by those dedicated to their ultimate destruction.

Not only does understanding of what is meant by the term "black college" become imperative in a desegregating society, what is meant by a "desegregated" and a "segregated" institution is equally essential. Is an institution that has historically served the needs of black youths, has a faculty that is 85 per cent black and a student body 90 per cent black a "segregated institution," while an institution that has historically and almost exclusively served an all white clientele and is now 98 per cent white in its faculty and 95 per cent white in its student body a "desegregated" institution? Does the term "historically black college" differ in any measurably significant way from the concept "predominantly black college" in the mid-seventies? Would they have been different in the pre-1954 era

or in the Pre-Adams v. Richardson period? How do varying responses to such questions shape the meaning brought to those institutions collectively labeled "black colleges?" Responses to such questions revealed areas of agreement, ambivalence and conflict between forty participants in the Conference. A compromise on definition proved to be essential before other fundamental issues could be addressed. Stephen Wright argued that the "whole purpose of definition is to distinguish one entity from another" and that resolution of the impasse on definition was critical for coming to terms with the implications of Adams v. Richardson for the concept of "black colleges".

The ambivalence about the term is reflected in three definitions offered by participants. For example, Wiley Bolden asserted that the definition should stress the opportunity structure and social justice for black students. Accordingly, he maintains that:

"A Black college is one whose primary efforts are directed toward promoting equal opportunity and equal justice in American society through attention to the educational and social needs of black Americans."

Christopher Edley, Executive Director of the United Negro College Fund, maintained that the fundamental variables in the definition are institutional mission and success in the achievement of that mission as it pertains to black people. Hence, in his view:

"A black college is a degree-granting institution of higher education which has largely dedicated itself to the mission of providing educational opportunity to blacks, and which has demonstrated success in this mission by attracting and graduating significant numbers of black students."

President Lloyd Elam of Meharry Medical College also stressed the importance of mission in defining a black college but, in his view, rectifying past inequities should play a crucial role in that mission before he would characterize a collegiate institution as a black college. Hence, from his perspective:

"A black college is an institution of higher learning which has the primary mission of addressing the needs of black persons through education so that the inequities which society inflicts on blacks and other minorities will be neutralized".

Such interpretations raised innumerable questions concerning the labeling process, the use of race as the dependent variable in the definition and whether or not a racial definition could be sometimes employed in a "racist" way, or whether or not black colleges are those historically founded for Negroes, or is it simply sufficient to state that a black college is an institution that recognizes itself as such and is so recognized by its primary constituents.

A working definition of "black colleges" was offered and, at least tentatively approved for conference purposes, by Albert Berrian and James E. Blackwell. According to this compromise definition,

"Colleges whose historic mission, goals, programs and processes have been directed to the education and psycho-social needs of a predominantly black clientele are black colleges".

UNDERSTOOD ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF BLACK COLLEGES

Since erroneous assumptions are made in the treatment of the black community as a homogeneous, monolithic social structure, it is equally

fallacious to assume 'nat, at either a conscious or subliminal level, black colleges are fundamentally the same. The argument has been made quite forcefully over time that black colleges are highly complex and heterogeneous institutions which represent a great mosaic - a diversity in structure, functions and individual achievements. It is that diversity which has provided vitality, dynamism and excitement not only within and between black colleges but within the black community which has sustained these institutions for more than a century.

Even though the diversity within these institutions is acknowledged, constraints of time and space preclude an analysis of individual accomplishments. Of necessity, the collective accomplishments of black colleges as an important social institution within the larger black community of the United States are crystallized in a brief summary.

Why were they Founded?

One of the more incontestable truths about black colleges, in general, is that, as social institutions, they were founded to meet a critical social need - the education of young American black people. They were established because of the exclusionary practices, systematic patterns of denial, lack of access to existing institutions of higher education, and the multiple realities of insidious, pernicious, and demeaning de jure educational apartheid in the United States. In Edley's words, "they were borne of necessity; they arose as a humanitarian response to the educational needs of black people." They were founded, as Tollett asserted, "at a time when no one else would serve this (educational) need." They arose to awaken the creative genius of some black youths and to nurture an already recognized ability of others. They emerged with what President Samuel DuBois Cook of Dillard University called a "commitment to excellence and with a vision of academic excellence." This commitment was recognized by President

Foster as a continuing theme of black colleges in the mid-seventies. From the beginning, black colleges stressed learning imbued by imagination as well as a thirst for intellectual development. These are themes which had their parallel in American higher education in general. However, as President Herman Long of Talladega College reminded, the underlying faith in each black college's founding was that "education shall make man free." What did they do?

Despite the restraints of de jure segregation and systemic discrimination, black colleges managed to achieve unimaginable success by whatever yardstick employed for measuring success of a college or university. Several researchers have pointed to some of these successes which are summarized below:

- (1) More than 80 per cent of all black college graduates were trained at black colleges and universities. In the mid-seventies, even though black colleges enroll less than 40 per cent of all black students attending a college, the black colleges graduate 50 per cent of all blacks who receive college degrees;
- (2) Until quite recently, more than 90 per cent of all black Americans who received degrees in medicine and dentistry were trained at the two largely black institutions of medicine and dentistry - Howard University and Meharry Medical College;
- (3) As of 1974, black colleges had provided undergraduate training for three-fourths of all black persons holding the doctorate degree; more than four-fifths of all black physicians; three-fourths of all black officers in the armed forces and four-fifths of all federal judges;
- (4) One of them initiated the "first professional training for blacks in the Air Force, in Veterinary Medicine, and Forestry" while

others continue to rank among the highest institutions in terms of the proportion of graduates who pursue and complete graduate and professional training.

- (5) Black colleges were responsible for the development of a significant leadership force on which the black community could depend in a a racially separate society and for the maintenance of crucial linkages with the larger society;
- (6) Black colleges served as symbols of the achievements of a race of people, as reminders of what could be achieved in the face of extreme adversity, and of the immense intellectual resources and talent nurtured by the black community, and
- (7) They helped to establish certain practical areas of knowledge as legitimate spheres of academic and scientific inquiry within the broader educational community (e.g., Charles S. Johnson established a Race Relations Institute at Fisk University through which he and his associates produced a number of seminal studies on inter-group contact and interaction, consequences of dominant-subordinate group interaction, and the characteristics of oppressed black people in a hostile society long before such Institutes achieved popularity at other institutions. Similarly, Gordon Blaine Hancock, undoubtedly less well known than Charles S. Johnson and, perhaps, considerably more controversial, also established a Race Relations Institute at Virginia Union University but was overshadowed by Johnson, E. Franklin Frazier, and W.E.B. DuBois. Significantly, American social scientists, black and white are now re-discovering the works of such black scholars who were in the forefront of a movement to subject the American social structure to serious intellectual scrutiny in terms of its meaning for its

less privileged citizens.)

Characteristics of the Clientele

The average family income of black college students is slightly above \$5,000 per annum. Approximately three-fifths of all black college students come from families with annual incomes of well under \$10,000 and eleven per cent come from families with annual incomes under \$3,000. Although these statistics paint a portrait of black students from families at near the poverty level, it cannot be assumed that economic deprivation is equivalent to intellectual under-development! Simply because so many black college students have underprivileged economic origins does not mean that all black college students are educationally disadvantaged or suffer from so-called "educational deficits" any more than one can assume that all white students are educationally advantaged and gifted. One major claim about intellectual potential can be supported with certitude by research findings and that is that the full range of intellectual potential is present in all racial groups. However, the black community may have a disproportionate share of the under-prepared college students, not because of deficits in innate ability, but because of a number of inter-related and mutually reinforcing factors such as the consequences of racism, patterned and systematic denials in the allocation of human, personal, financial and material resources. It is, therefore, a singularly important tribute to the black student who demonstrates such high motivation for success and achievement against such discouraging odds. A major contribution had been made by professionals in the black colleges whose insights and patience have helped them to identify ability and to encourage students to perform at the highest levels of academic potential. Their roles, often unheralded, have been key elements in the success of so many graduates of black colleges.

in the U.S. and elsewhere.

THE ISSUES

Vivian Henderson identified forty issues for possible discussion of black colleges as a national resource. He stated in his paper, "Black Colleges As a National Resource: The Issues," his function was to "raise the questions and point up the questions" rather than to analyze them. Quite intentionally, he made no attempt to establish priorities among the issues raised or to make statements concerning their validity. However, he asserted that "issues growing out of trends and pressures focus primarily upon the future of black colleges and second upon the education of black youth." From Henderson's vantage point, these forty issues could be categorized into four sets; namely, (1) Issues and Questions that focus primarily upon the institution, (2) student-focused issues, (3) issues addressed to the concerns of the faculty, staff and the administration, and (4) issues of importance relative to the community and the college.

According to Henderson, in addition to the racial and social context within which black colleges function, five factors also affect the most critical issues as well as the framework within which black colleges function at the present time and in the future. These five factors are: (1) demographic change which involves shifts in the black population from one part of the country to another; (2) "increased sensitivity on the part of public and private policy to provisions of equal opportunity in education, jobs, and in political activity, (3) improved participation of blacks in public service administration and affairs, and as elected officials, (4) escalation of occupational opportunity and greater diversity in occupational demands for black college graduates... and (5) increased cost of maintaining the institution and carrying out an instructional program."

Elias Blake, who served as co-convenor in the absence of President

Henderson, presented an analysis of the forty issues posed in the Henderson paper. From Blake's viewpoint, the Henderson paper contained five major themes which he re-categorized as issues that were either (1) legal, (2) economic, (3) educational, (4) leadership or (5) political in nature.

Legal issues are addressed to such questions as the following: Do black colleges support segregation by virtue of their existence? Are black colleges legally constituted bodies? Can they exist for all people? What are the responsibilities of black colleges for affirmative action? Is there a need for a series of legal strategies that would be protective of black colleges, and what are the implications of such strategies for the student body, the faculty, and for the administrative composition of the black colleges?

Economic issues include matters pertaining to land grant support; competition and cooperative arrangements between public and private colleges; catch-up strategies; sources of additional funds and resources; pairing down and clustering of institutions; support for black colleges from private philanthropies; federal financial assistance/aid, and the potential vulnerability of black colleges as a consequence of varying support patterns.

Educational Issues are addressed to the role, scope, mission and uniqueness of black colleges. They raise a number of critical questions including the following: If black colleges are unique, how are they unique? If black colleges are inferior or strong, by whose standards and according to what criteria are they inferior or strong? What is the role of compensatory education in black colleges? What should be the racial mix of the student body in black colleges? What is a black college and what are the implications of this definition for re-defining integration? What are the implications of that new mix within the black college community for an educational melting pot or for pluralism in higher education? What is the black community to

which the black colleges relate? Are there any special sets of socialization processes demanded by and for participants in black colleges within a desegregating society? How can the educational output of black colleges be documented and shall that documentation be interpreted in terms of professional and student achievement; number of graduates; number of graduates who complete professional and graduate training? or what?

Leadership issues focus on the philosophy and style undergirding the leadership structure of black colleges. They raise questions as to why leaders are being developed within black institutions and of the essential functions of leadership in the larger community. Implicit in positive responses to the latter questions are understandings that effective leadership promotes a self-critical facility, fosters the development of a collective self-help capacity within the black college community and creates a process for an internal dialogue resulting in appropriate responses to other issues.

The political issues include such matters as the significance and impact of the governance structure on participation in the decision-making processes, the relative salience of politics in program planning, diversification and implementation; the primacy of political considerations in program duplication at black and white publicly supported colleges, and the broad ramifications of the Adams v. Richardson case for the future of black colleges. The latter issue raises parallel questions of what colleges will be dismantled under the mandate to dismantle the dual system of higher education. What is the position of the Legal Defense Fund regarding the future roles of black colleges as a consequence of Adams v. Richardson? Can different perspectives on the role of black colleges as viewed from the perspective of the Legal Defense Fund be reconciled with the expectations of the leadership structure among black colleges if, in fact, differences exist and reconciliation of perspectives is necessary?

Granville Sawyer expressed a belief that two additional issues of a broad philosophical nature should be mentioned as themes. These are the development of major research and development centers at black colleges serving a variety of educational, political, economic and social needs, and a more futuristic orientation of black colleges.

The discussion which followed the presentation of the major issues by Elias Blake demonstrated the fruitlessness of any effort to address the questions posed within each category as if they were in isolation to those powerful external forces which affect the nature and quality of collective responses to them. The need to identify linkages between the various papers prepared for the Conference was almost immediately apparent. As Stephen Wright pointed out, analysis of the issues presented demanded honesty and candor in interpreting the strengths and weaknesses of black colleges. Only candor in its most meaningful sense would enable participants to "call 'lousy' black colleges 'lousy' and excellent black colleges excellent." Essentially, Wright called for maturity, sophistication, and strength in confronting each category of issues re-defined by Blake as the underlying structure for interpreting those roles specified by subsequent presentors.

PRIVATE BLACK COLLEGES AS A NATIONAL RESOURCE

Luther Foster argued that the case for private colleges and universities has already been made by any number of individuals and organizations such as The National Council of Independent Colleges and Universities and the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. This claim is supported in terms of the diversity within higher education added by private institutions, the breadth and scope of their educational goals, the success of such institutions in establishing and maintaining rigorous and high standards, and their ability to pursue their goals within an atmosphere of academic freedom without undue political influence and interference. 21

Foster also maintained that private colleges are justified by past and present accomplishments in meeting the needs of a diverse black student population. In his view, black private colleges have been the primary source of higher educational opportunity for American blacks. They have accomplished their goals despite some of the problems specified earlier on in this report. He perceives black private colleges as a major national resource against what he calls "the backdrop of the world society" and issues which impact on black colleges as a collective.

Among the urgent issues having such an impact are those of:

- 1) "peace, detente, regional conflagrations and possible nuclear destruction;
- 2) world interdependence - humanitarian aspirations of all people - discovering and exploiting the world's material resources;
- 3) needs, rights and demands of the rich...the poor, and the destitute;
- 4) appropriate environmental management to avoid destruction of the closed cycle dimension of Mother Earth; and
- 5) rights, expectations, and possibilities of people in issues of population growth, health-care, and food availability."

It is against the realities of those concerns that, Foster argues, decisions about the type of nation is desired can be made and decisions which advance private black colleges become crystallized.

In more specific terms, Foster maintains that private black colleges are a national resource because: (1) they can "further refine their unique competence to foster the attainment of a democratic pluralistic society"; (2) their past academic successes can serve as role models for aiding the American public and elected officials in developing an expanded appreciation of equality of educational opportunity in higher education for a broader

constituency; (3) black private colleges possess a considerable reservoir of professional expertise which can be shared by many others; (4) they provide centers for the scholarly study and preservation of the cultural heritages and experiences of blacks in America; (5) they strengthen relationships with African nations because of the large numbers of past and present leaders of these nations who received undergraduate and professional training at black private colleges, (6) they can strengthen their commitment to remain quality institutions respecting and promoting high performance standards, and effective communication in standard English while also serving students through cooperative education programs in order to broaden their occupational options, and (7) they can augment this resource by changing the image of academic management and freedom of participation within black colleges in order to eradicate harmful stereotypes.

Foster's presentation stimulated a discussion of a number of controversial topics. One major question concerned differentiations between black private colleges and black public colleges. A careful scrutiny of the parameters of the issue revealed that similarities in their purposes and functions transcend peculiarities or idiosyncratic distinctions. Historically, black private colleges have enjoyed a special advantage of control over the selection and admission process. This advantage is one explanatory variable for understanding their high success in student achievement in the graduate and professional world. According to Samuel DuBois Cook, they have provided an intellectual model which could be emulated by the less prepared. Such an environment has stimulated less prepared students to aspire toward academic and professional success.

Christopher Edley asserted that black private colleges have not been hampered by the kinds of political restraints on their administrations, faculty, and students which many black public colleges endured. Hence,

an atmosphere of free inquiry into controversial and neglected spheres of intellectuality could be pursued and freedom to confront major social issues of the times was more or less assured. Several participants also maintained that black private colleges could more freely socialize students into the value system of the black community while simultaneously attacking the problems resulting from racial oppression, segregation and discrimination visited upon the black community. Throughout their history, black private colleges have developed an expertise for dealing with students from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds (e.g., curriculum flexibility, individualized instruction, patience, etc.) which itself is a resource worth retaining as educational opportunities are expanded, and as enrollments of these groups of students at the college level increase. In many ways, black private institutions represent a huge financial investment, a source of employment for a large number of people, and a significant contribution to the economy of the communities in which they are located.

President Andrew Billingsley of Morgan State College averred that pluralism and diversity should not be minimized as major resources offered by black colleges. In his view, the case for diversity and pluralism can be stated not only in terms of the multiple foci of the missions of black colleges but also in terms of the opportunities of the private black colleges to develop special programs for the intellectually gifted and for all black colleges to use their past successes in serving the needs of poor black students as the foundation upon which service to similar types of non-black students can be rendered.

Dr. Cleveland Dennard (President of Washington Technical Institute) called attention to that thrust in the Foster paper which addressed world human issues impacting on the mission of black colleges in a rapidly

changing society. For example, one major resource lies in the ability of black colleges to affect American foreign policy in Africa and helping to delineate what should be the role of black leaders and black institutions in defining that role. It is equally imperative for black institutions to become more aggressive in confronting the human condition, issues of hunger and poverty at home and abroad, and in identifying progressive solutions for ameliorating such problems.

In the mid-seventies, it is generally agreed that both private and public black colleges are faced with new sets of economic, political and educational realities which propel them closer to each other's orbits than ever before. The realities are in part a function of both anticipated and unanticipated consequences of the desegregation process. Consequences are reflected in the composition of student bodies at undergraduate, graduate and professional school levels. They are visible in the racial mix of the faculties, especially in public black colleges in contrast to their composition in the pre-1954 period. These consequences are manifest in the ability of some institutions to attract and retain black professionals who hold doctorate degrees, the ability of black institutions to be competitive in salaries offered, in shifts in the administrative structure of some institutions and in the structure of governance as well as in claims of curricula domains which reflect a kind of imperial academic territoriality.

PUBLIC BLACK COLLEGES

Nowhere are such issues more sharply defined as in contemporary debates over the future or survival of black public colleges. A somewhat fatalistic viewpoint was presented by Albert Whiting who stated that "the inevitability of the long-range demise of the predominantly Negro school in its present form is clearly indicated in statistical trends and in the law with reference to public institutions as interpreted through the United States District

Court Judge Pratt Decision (1973)." He continued to claim that the only argument of substance in favor of the predominantly black school, at the present moment, is the statistic that these schools will graduate roughly the same number of blacks...as white institutions despite the fact that they only enroll approximately one-third of the total." Whiting's pessimism about the future or survival of black public colleges is a response to perceived implications of the decision in the Adams v. Richardson case. Obviously, this decision has profound implications for blacks and whites in higher education but others do not share his position of impending doom.

However, Kenneth Tollett shared some of the concern articulated by Whiting when he asserted that "recent court action in the Adams decision makes the future of black public colleges cloudy. They face possible extinction due to the mechanical application in higher education of principles developed in elementary and secondary desegregation cases." According to Tollett, Adams v. Richardson was significant for three basic reasons. That decision: (1) "targeted elementary and secondary schools and higher education institutions, (2) asserted violations of law both in Northern and Southern states; and (3) it was a class action against the federal government calling for enforcement of federal laws and subsequently federal regulations."

It is precisely the latter point made by Tollett that Jean Fairfax stresses as the intended goal of the Legal Defense Fund--that is, the the enforcement of the law relative to the perceived and actual patterns of systemic discrimination that have persisted since the promulgation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which had already been rendered illegal in Brown v. Board of Education. She also stressed that it is precisely that prospect of "dismantling the dual system of higher education" that provides opportunities for black colleges to re-orient themselves toward a future in which broader needs are addressed necessitating, therefore, the continued strengthening of black institutions.

Elias Blake called attention to the claim that, in the view of many persons, the Legal Defense Fund was appealing to a racial balance theory in higher education when specific reference is made to the Green v. Kent decision. However, Stephen Wright pointed out that there is no specific and legal compulsion for a college student to attend a specific college or university.

Nevertheless, the discussion revealed the magnitude of concerns, of fears and misunderstandings about outcomes emerging from the Adams case. Other issues of major importance were also raised. Among these derivative issues are those of freedom of choice in higher education, the changing character of predominantly black colleges in terms of the enrollment of non-black students and the hiring of non-black faculty, administrators and staff; curricula re-structuring, specificity and uniqueness, the possible displacement of black faculty, staff and administrators as the racial composition of the student body changes due to increasing enrollment of white students; the efforts of some states to apparently destroy certain public black colleges by locating "white" but "desegregated" institutions literally across the street from established black public colleges, and the possibilities of destruction through "mergers."

Again, Jean Fairfax stressed the major efforts of the Legal Defense Fund to eradicate every vestige of institutional racism, systemic discrimination, exclusionary practices which deny equality of access of black students to publicly supported higher education, as well as the LDF's efforts to maximize access to higher education by assuring that the total system is open to black Americans. She reiterated the LDF's legal strategy of forcing the states to identify black public colleges as "primary" institutions in those areas in which they are located. She stressed the LDF's opposition to the practice of establishing white institutions in

these primary areas as a means of siphoning off the potentially added strengths of black colleges. Moreover, one intention of the strategy employed by the LDF is to bolster the capacity of black colleges to survive through increasing diversification and appropriate specialization with strong resources and state support of new programs designed to attract a more diversified clientele.

These focal points necessarily involve multiple stages and approaches which demand confronting past inequities, ability to deal with the processes of a desegregating system in a racist society, and determining collective future roles as equal partners with the formerly all-white institutions in the educational enterprise. These concerns suggest paramountcy to such related issues as the recruitment process, the distribution of blacks throughout the system, and the structure of governance within the institutions of higher education.

It was argued by Ms. Fairfax and others that the Legal Defense Fund has no hidden agenda of phasing out black colleges. However, the high degree of vulnerability of public black colleges was believed evident as long as they are reticent to respond in creative ways to the new realities of this decade and beyond. Consensus seemed to have been reached that black colleges as a collective must be enhanced and it was generally agreed that no one advocated racially balanced institutions. What seemed to have been strongly endorsed was a clear and precise articulation of viable programmatic responses from black institutions as integral units, with evident equality, within the total state systems of higher education.

Wright re-asserted Whiting's notion that if black colleges are to survive and if they are to be more effectively utilized as a national resource, the desegregation process must be, at minimal, a two-way process. Similarly, President Humphries (Tennessee State University) emphasized some of the undergirding conditions in two-way desegregation. For example,

public institutions can no longer offer what they want to or with disregard for what is being offered in other components of the system (a luxury still afforded among private colleges). It is incumbent upon public institutions to seek new ways of attracting non-black students and an increasingly large proportion of the better trained black students presently magnetized toward the "white institutions" for various reasons. The observation was made with regularity that States are carefully and systematically scrutinizing delivery capacities of state-controlled institutions and are assessing their potential for effective delivery systems with regard to curriculum and programmatic-specific areas. The capacity to produce effective delivery mechanisms in higher education may, in fact, be the impetus for establishing closer inter-institutional cooperation, stronger alliances between public and private black colleges and expanded arenas of cooperation between blacks who serve a wide variety of roles in both predominantly black and predominantly white institutions.

It is one thing to call for effective programmatic responses in higher education and still another to provide institutions with the fundamental requirements to achieve that goal. Hence, programmatic responses must perforce be accompanied by, if not preceded by, an actuated commitment from States to provide those financial and human resources which are requisites for fulfilling institutional and state-wide missions.

References to reallocation of resources in more equitable ways are in reality another way of expressing the need for a re-distribution of power. The black community has come to a fuller appreciation of the dimensions, forms, uses, and abuses of power. The term, power, may convey control over the decision-making processes affecting the lives of others. It may also mean unrestrained access to the spheres of influence and authority. It may be expressed mathematically, as Hubert Blalock did,

in the equation: $P = k(m \times i) R$ (Power is proportionate to the quantity motives times incentives times available resources.). Although Blalock's formulation has much to commend it as presented above, one of the more profound elements in the power equation is missing: effective mobilization of resources.. Resources are practically meaningless unless people believe that those who possess them, whatever they may be, have the capacity and the wherewithal to mobilize them for concerted action. Thus, an expanded version of Blalock's original formulation might be $P=k (m \times i) R^2 M$ which takes into account the importance of the mobilization variable.

It should be stressed that power does not rest exclusively in numbers. There is much evidence to support the contention that a relatively organized numerical minority can dominate a relatively disorganized numerical majority. Robert Bierstedt has indicated that the sources of power are rooted in the combination of (1) the size of the group, (2) the degree of social organization and social cohesion found in that group, and (3) the capacity of the group to effectively mobilize its resources.

One categorical imperative for black colleges is to objectify their vested interests by concerted action leading toward resource reallocation and power re-distribution. This process may involve more direct political action by helping to register more blacks to vote, helping to elect more black officials at local, state and national levels who can be made responsive to the collective interests of black institutions. Such actions, political though they may be, have the potential for facilitating the acquisition of those resources so vital for new and exciting programmatic responses to a rapidly changing situation which affect both survival and interpretations of these institutions as a national resource.

Black Colleges and the Community

Recognition of the viability of political processes for effecting

meaningful social change was highlighted in the presentation by Granville Sawyer, Hortense Dixon and Clifton Claye. They gave primacy to the geo-political context in which black colleges function at local and national levels. They demonstrated how some of the same geo-political processes which are of functional utility at local and national levels are of major importance at international levels. In their view, black colleges should not wait to be called upon to respond to the needs of their immediate communities, they should take the leadership in identifying community concerns and in organizing appropriate responses to meet those needs. They must do much more than that since the community extends far beyond immediate territoriality in view of the gigantic systems and networks of communications which bring people of one country to another with greater speed than ever before. Black colleges should reach out and broaden their concept of community to include people in other countries, particularly the peoples of the continent of Africa with whom American blacks are inextricably linked by heritage and similarities of history. This process requires skilled human resources, though not altogether presently trained in black colleges, which can become a major strength of black colleges by the quality and diversity of training they may offer. These resources include individuals trained to develop and utilize intervention strategies as solutions to problems of poverty, and the conditions often associated with urbanization, modernization and technological advancement. Resources also include the capacity to re-shape public policy on matters pertaining to community issues and which affect the human condition. By implication, strong and effective leadership roles by black colleges are mandated.

Priorities: Black Colleges As A National Resource

What, then, should be some of the priorities for identifying black colleges as a national resource? Conference participants seemed to have

developed consensus around the following priorities:

1. the continued educational training of black students and increasing educational training opportunities for non-black students;
2. the development and utilization of existing resources for strengthening the black community through the medium of strong and viable black colleges;
3. the establishment of essential linkages with Third World Nations so that the expertise found in black colleges may be used to determine solutions to some of their problems and to share resources in the attainment of common goals. This expertise may be addressed to issues of population control and management, poverty, hunger and the promotion of political networks and alliances which may result in either divisible or indivisible benefits to black people;
4. the utilization of black colleges as major centers of research and development in a number of broad areas which affect the quality of life at local (urban or rural), national and international levels. Such centers may also enable black researchers to bring into sharper focus fresh and provocative black perspectives that are grounded in empirical and scientific investigations but augmented by the nature of black experiences in America;
5. the recognition of black colleges as an asset in fostering pluralism in a society theoretically committed to cultural democracy;
6. the use of black colleges to meet the challenge of new and untapped manpower needs and human resources in academic or professional spheres and in the realm of public/social policy. Such goals may be accomplished, according to Dixon, Sawyer and Claye, through various types of consortia, international and inter-institutional

cooperative arrangements and by means of specialized programs offered at specific institutions;

7. by continuing to develop and expand programs for the education of the poor and disadvantaged;
8. by maintaining their historic function of producing models of black leadership for American blacks and for the nation as a whole;
9. strengthening their function of purveyors of the heritage and rich culture of black people through research, study, learning and teachings about the diversity of black experiences, and
10. strengthening existing capacities or developing new resources to offer programs which meet some of the critical manpower needs (identified in the paper by Dixon, et.al). These include: engineering, international diplomacy and law, telecommunications, the health professions, banking, finance and marketing, geology, and community conservation.

Data Requirements

Gloria Scott called attention to the need to re-articulate or crystallize in a clear way the differences between black public and black private colleges and to come to terms with the implications of those differences for the black college student. Scott, Wright, Morgan and others insisted that much more needs to be understood about the pool of students available to black colleges in the foreseeable future. Understanding that pool might reveal more salient information about "racial mix"; how the pool can be expanded and under what conditions or circumstances will changes in that pool occur. These are research questions which should be addressed in the immediate future. Similarly, another compelling research issue pertains to the implications of the changing nature of that pool of students for the types of programs and curricula that will be offered at black colleges, especially

as dual systems of education are dismantled.

Research should be undertaken which clarifies factors which impact on the intellectual development of students in black institutions in relation to students in white institutions. Research can also shed more light on the role of the economic factor and the social class variable in divergencies in the education process. Data can be generated which demonstrate what black colleges are presently doing to sharpen cognitive skills.

Before community issues can be fully understood, much more data are needed which reveal projected changes in the black community regarding demographic composition, ecological concentration and dispersion, sense of community among black people, leadership structure, and emphasis on education as a means of effecting meaningful social change.

Existing resources within black colleges which can facilitate linkages between them and third world institutions should be identified and communicated to others who control the decision-making process.

Data banks may also reveal something about the mechanisms that function best for broad utilization by black colleges or black scholars employed in the predominantly white colleges.

Other data and research might be addressed to ameliorating already identified stressful situations affecting the human condition such as biomedical research on problems of hypertension and sickle cell anemia, and social research on such issues as black-on-black crime, demeaning portrayals of blacks on television and in the mass media or the abuses of testing.

Data could be provided which demonstrate what concrete steps can be undertaken to build strong communications networks, lead to more effective information flow or dissemination and augment information processing and sharing so that black colleges can be better understood in terms of what

they do and how well their collective missions are accomplished.

Finally, many persons continue to argue that critical self-appraisal is always healthy and should not be avoided. It is only through that process that strengths are recognized and retrogressive albatrosses can be displaced.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Albert Berrian presented a series of statements which could be classified as conclusions and recommendations. These are quoted in their entirety:

- The nation is in need of a national Commission, appointed at a presidential or congressional level, or both, with the charge of recommending ways in which historically black institutions can be upgraded, collectively, to be effectively responsive to international, national and local issues and exigencies. This commission should be made up of political, legislative, industrial and community leaders, as well as representatives of the black higher education enterprises.*
- The National Commission, which will have the responsibility for policy formulation and recommendations, should have as a working arm a staffed Planning Institute. Existing planning resources may be utilized as sub-structures for the Planning Institute proposed.**
- A research and development center (or regional centers) should be established as a complement to the Planning Institute and should operate under its umbrella. This center(s) will engage in demonstration and information dissemination activities as well as in basic research activities.
- Special efforts must be made to guarantee legislation and fund

authorizations in connection with new laws and fiscal arrangements in support of viable developing and advanced developing institutions of higher learning.

- Grants to institutions or individuals (based on need and academic or creative potential) should be increased. Institutional grants might be tied to special supportive service efforts, which are expensive at best.
- Research activities, using the research and development center as a funnel, should be mounted within the following frameworks:
 - a) Manpower trends and needs and the questions of educational equity;
 - b) Community development through the projection of town and gown relationships;
 - c) Strategies for faculty and curricular innovation, including the testing of hypotheses;
 - d) Sub-cultural contributions to the larger cultural flow;
 - e) Desegregation efforts: an analysis, etc.
 - f) College-secondary school interface in the interest of widening the pool of available black students;
 - g) Documentation of the processes and procedures leading to historical success patterns in black colleges as regards their clients' educational, training, psycho-social and socio-economic development.
- Studies should be made of feasible modes of interinstitutional cooperation, even across public-private lines. These studies should lead to cost-effective approaches to program offerings and expanded graduate and professional opportunities. These

studies might form the basis for new educational aggregates and new funding patterns.

*This suggestion may seem unique, but there is a precedent for it -- albeit at lower educational levels -- in the creation of the National Advisory Council for the Education of Disadvantaged Children. This Council, which reviews and evaluates the administration and operation of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 is appointed by the President of the United States but makes an annual report to the President and the Congress. The President is requested to transmit to the Congress such comments and recommendations as he may have with respect to the report.

** Planning is used here in the sense of educational development within the context of education and training as factors in psycho-social and socio-economic development.

References

1. Berrian, Albert, "A Proposed Conservation Plan", (A paper prepared for the Southern Education Foundation's Conference on Black Colleges As A National Resource: Beyond 1975, February 15-17, Atlanta, Georgia).
2. Bierstedt, Robert, "An Analysis of Social Power," American Sociological Review 15 (December, 1950), 730-738.
3. Blackwell, James E., Access of Black Students to Graduate and Professional Schools. Atlanta: The Southern Education Foundation, 1975.
4. _____, The Black Community: Diversity and Unity, New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1975.
5. Blalock, H.M., Toward A General Theory of Intergroup Relations. New York: John Wiley, 1967. See also his "A Power Analysis of Racial Discrimination", Social Forces 39 (1960), 53-69.
6. Butts, R. Freeman, "The Search for Purpose in American Education," The College Board Review 98 (Winter, 1975-76), 2-19.
7. Claye, Clifton M., "Black Colleges and Desegregation", (paper prepared for the Southern Education Foundation's Conference on Black Colleges As A National Resource).
8. Dixon, Hortense W., Granville M. Sawyer, and Clifton Claye, "Strengthening A National Resource: Perspectives on the Black College and the Community" (a paper prepared for the Southern Education Foundation's Conference on Black Colleges As A National Resource).
9. Foster, Luther H., and Wiley S. Bolden, "Perspectives of the Black Private College" (a paper prepared for the Southern Education Foundation's Conference on Black College As A National Resource).
10. Henderson, Vivian W., "Black Colleges As A National Resource: The Issues," (A paper prepared for the Southern Education Foundation's Conference on Black Colleges as a National Resource).
11. Fifer, Alan, The Higher Education of Blacks. New York: The Carnegie Corporation, 1973.
12. Strickland, Haywood, "A Book Review of The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching's More Than Survival (prepared for the Southern Education Foundation's Conference on Black Colleges As A National Resource).
13. Tollett, Kenneth S., "Black Public Colleges: More than Surviving", (a paper prepared for the Southern Education Foundation's Conference on Black Colleges As A National Resource).
14. Whiting, Albert N., "The Negro College: A Prospective View," (Paper presented at the Southern Education Foundation's Conference on Black Colleges As A National Resource).